

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY AF:MLGARRISON

APPROVED BY AF:TWSEELYE

S/S-MR.SEBASTIAN

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 272227

NODIS

CHEROKEE FOR AMB SCRANTON ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 8625 ACTION SECSTATE 01 NOV 76.

QUOTE

S E C R E T GENEVA 8625

NODIS

CHEROKEE

TO THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFELLE

E.O. 11652: XFDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIAN CONFERENCE: MEETING WITH NKOMO

1. I MET WITH NKOMO AT AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, WHICH WAS NKOMO'S PREFERENCE. AFTER INTRODUCTORY CHIT-CHAT, NKOMO IMMEDIATELY SENT THE TWO PEOPLE WITH HIM OUT OF THE ROOM.

2. AFTER I HAD GONE THROUGH MY TALKING POINTS WHICH

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NKOMO TOOK WITH EQUANIMITY HE REVERTED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY

TO THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH. AMONG OTHER THINGS HE SAID THE BRITISH ARE IN THE PROCESS. HE CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY THEY ARE SO RELUCTANT AND QUESTIONED WHETHER REAL PROGRESS COULD BE MADE WITHOUT SELECTIVE BRITISH INITIATIVE, IF NECESSARY BACKED BY THE US. HE URGED US TO USE OUR INFLUENCE TO PERSUADE THE BRITISH TO BECOME A REAL FACTOR IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. BEYOND THE ASSIGNMENT OF A GOVERNOR GENERAL HE ARGUED IN FAVOR OF THE ASSIGNMENT OF BRITISH OR COMMONWEALTH MILITARY OFFICERS. CONTRARY TO SMITH EARLIER, HE THOUGHT A VISIBLE BRITISH POLITICAL PRESENCE WOULD BE REASSURING FOR THE WHITE POPULATION.

3. HE SAID HIS ALLIANCE WITH MUGABE WAS A REAL ALLIANCE; SINCE MUGABE HAS LITTLE IN THE WAY OF A POLITICAL BASE WITHIN RHODESIA HE IS CONSTANTLY LOOKING OVER HIS SHOULDER OF THE MILITANT ZIPA. IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION ON THIS POINT NKOMO WHO I EXPECTED TO HAVE RESERVATIONS, AS HE PROBABLY DOES, ABOUT THE MUZOREWA ONE MAN, ONE VOTE FORMULA, STATED HIS PREFERENCE FOR "DEMOCRATIC PROCESS" BECAUSE THE MOST RADICAL OF THE ZIPA MILITANTS WANT NO ELECTION AT ALL WHICH IS THE ONLY WAY THEY CAN COME TO POWER.

4. I ASKED HIM IF ALL FOUR NATIONALISTS LEADERS IN GENEVA WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO AN EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT. HE REPLIED, NOT NECESSARILY; HE CAN LIVE WITH A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITY AGAINST THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

5. SINCE NKOMO ALSO BROUGHT UP THE POINT THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO SET A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE, AS ONE OF THE FIRST MATTERS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE, I ASKED WHY THIS WAS SO IMPORTANT. SOMEWHAT DISINGENUOUSLY HE SAID THAT ONE MUST KNOW THE TIMEFRAME FOR INDEPENDENCE IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THE INSTITUTIONS AND PROCEDURES TO ACHIEVE IT WITHIN THAT TIMEFRAME. I THEN ASKED IF HE COULD ACCEPT A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE WHICH WAS CONDITIONAL UPON THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION

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OF THE CONFERENCE AND AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES. HE SAID THAT WAS NO PROBLEM FOR HIM.

6. HE EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER ANGOLA IN RHODESIA STATING THAT THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS HAD NEVER BEEN IN ANGOLA, HAVE SUDDENLY APPEARED AND ARE NOW FIRMLY IN PLACE. THE FIRST REQUIREMENT

TO PREVENT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT IN RHODESIA  
IS THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE. THIS GAVE ME  
AN OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE THE APPROPRIATE TALKING  
POINTS WITH WHICH NKOMO DID NOT DISAGREE. HE  
OBVIOUSLY HAS SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE BUT  
BELIEVES THAT ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLE-  
MENT HAS CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE PAST SIX WEEKS.

7. THE SECOND WAY TO AVOID A REPETITION OF ANGOLA  
WAS TO DEVELOP AND INTENSIFY HIS ALLIANCE WITH  
MUGABE.

8. AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION NKOMO ASKED ME NOT  
TO TALK ABOUT THE FACT THAT WE HAD MET. I SAID THIS  
WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT. I WAS BEING PESTERED BY  
THE PRESS CONSTANTLY WHO ALREADY KNOW WHOM I HAD  
SEEN AND WERE BOUND TO ASK WHETHER I HAD SEEN NKOMO.  
PART OF HIS PROBLEM, ACCORDING TO NKOMO, WAS THE  
EFFORTS OF THE SOVIETS ADVERSELY TO INFLUENCE THE  
VARIOUS DELEGATES. I SAID I WOULD DO THE BEST I  
COULD BUT I CERTAINLY WOULD NOT TALK ABOUT THE  
SUBSTANCE OF OUR CONVERSATION.

9. COMMENT: NKOMO WAS VERY FORTHCOMING AND ENCOURAGING;  
HOWEVER, HE HAS LOCKED HIMSELF INTO AN APPARENTLY  
NECESSARY BUT CONFINING RELATIONSHIP WITH MUGABE AND  
FEARS THE POTENTIAL POPULARITY OF MUZOREWA. THEREFORE,  
HE WILL HAVE TO MOVE CAUTIOUSLY AND PERHAPS SOMETIMES  
IN CONFLICT WITH US IF HE IS TO MAINTAIN HIS POSITION  
AND CREDENTIALS.

10. OBVIOUSLY THE NATIONALISTS BELIEVE THAT BRITAIN  
HAS TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE PRIMARILY, I BELIEVE,  
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BECAUSE THE BRITISH WILL PROBABLY BE THE ONLY  
ACCEPTABLE SOURCE OF WORKABLE SOLUTIONS. CATTO.  
UNQUOTE KISSINGER.

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